



SPRING OF MIRACLES, PAUL GAUGUIN, 1894.  
*Offshore living, IN THE STYLE OF GAUGUIN.*

### Raids foil IRA bomb attacks

Guardian Reporters

**T**HE IRA's plans to demonstrate its still-murderous capacity with a series of spectacular attacks were set back this week after police and the intelligence services dealt the heaviest blow for years to the organisation.

The scale of Monday's police operation, which left one terrorist suspect dead and five others under arrest with the seizure of the largest explosives and arms cache in mainland Britain, indicates the IRA was gearing up for another phase in its war to remove Britain from Ireland.

Ten tons of home-made fertiliser-based explosive packed in boxes were found in a north London warehouse with an array of bomb-making equipment including car bombs, Semtex, 10 timers, and two lorries.

Police said they had frustrated an attack that could have taken place "today or tomorrow". The presence of under-vehicle booby trap bombs also suggests the IRA was preparing to widen its attacks to prominent politicians or establishment figures.

Security sources on both sides of the Irish border have claimed the IRA is about to hold an Army Convention, its ruling body. This could take far-reaching decisions about the direction of its campaign.

The optimistic assessment is that those in the republican movement who favour an abeyance of IRA activity were gaining the upper hand. However, it has been thought the IRA would call a ceasefire only from a position of strength — after having provided high-profile evidence of its continued capacity to mount terrorist operations.

The Prime Minister was "absolutely delighted" by the operation. "The discovery of these plans and the huge stocks of explosives and



Police wearing gas masks follow a trail of blood at a west London house where an IRA suspect was shot dead. PHOTOGRAPH BY MAX NASH

arms put in their proper context professions of peaceful intentions by Sinn Fein's leaders and speculation about a new IRA ceasefire," he said.

Although surveillance was crucial, this week's success raises the spectre of penetration of the IRA's England Department, which runs bombing from Dublin. Since the IRA ended its ceasefire in February it has been dogged by arrests, premature explosions, arms seizures and bombs failing to go off.

Officers were staggered at the size of the "quartermaster's stores". There were enough explosives and equipment to make five or six van bombs similar to those that

wrecked South Quay in London's Docklands, and Manchester city centre on June 15. Three rifles, two handguns and ammunition were also recovered.

Homes in London and another in Sussex were raided by officers from Scotland Yard's anti-terrorist branch. At a hostel in Hammersmith, west London, a man was killed when shots were fired. Two other suspects were arrested nearby. At London's Gatwick airport a British Airways engineer was seized and an address in Crawley, Sussex, searched.

Three of those arrested are English and two are from Northern Ireland.

### Lorry sale tip-off put MI5 on the scent

**T**HE successful security and police operation which led to Monday's arrests began when the Royal Ulster Constabulary tipped off MI5 about two lorries, believed to have been bought at auction in Ireland, writes *Richard Norton-Taylor*.

The lorries were tracked from South Armagh to Larne and the ferry to Cairnryan in Scotland, said intelligence sources. The IRA had used the same route for the modified low-loader containing the bomb which exploded at London's Docklands in February this year, marking the

end of the IRA's 17-month ceasefire.

Once the trucks arrived in Scotland, MI5 watchers took control. As well as the RUC and Scotland Yard's anti-terrorist branch, another 10 police forces were involved. They tracked the lorries to north London, where the terrorists had paid cash to rent a steel room at Abacus Self Storage in Hornsey Vale.

The IRA suspects visited it, usually at night, unaware they were being watched for two months. It was at the self-service warehouse that the cache of

arms and explosives was found.

Though surveillance was the key to the operation, there is speculation that the security services were originally tipped off by a mole. Republican sources in west Belfast said they suspected an informer. But the IRA would not admit stoppy work by their members.

The IRA, concerned about past reverses, is believed to have taken the risk of turning to experienced members to train recruits. They are more likely to be known to the security and intelligence services.

### Massive vote-rigging taints Bosnia election

Julian Borger in Sarajevo

**T**HE international organisation supervising the Bosnian elections is attempting to cover up wholesale fraud involving an estimated 800,000 phantom votes, according to preliminary results that call into question the apparent victory of the Muslim leader, Alija Izetbegovic.

His margin of victory of 41,000 votes over the Bosnian Serb separatist, Miroslav Krajisnik, is dwarfed by the scale of voting discrepancies, the greatest of which are in predominantly Muslim areas.

Independent election monitors have called for the elections to be declared null and void after initial returns showed 7 per cent more votes cast than estimated voters. Western observers say the figures suggest either cheating during the count, or — more likely — ballot-stuffing on a vast scale.

However, if the election results were nullified, or if Mr Krajisnik were declared the victor, Western strategy in Bosnia would go into a tailspin because:

□ *Bosnia's Muslims would refuse to accept Mr Krajisnik as head of state, as he helped orchestrate Serb ethnic cleansing during the Bosnian war.*

□ *New government institutions could not be created, under the Dayton peace agreement, unless the whole election process — campaign, polling day count and results — is certified by the chairman of the Organisation for Security and Co-operation in Europe (OSCE).*

□ *Non-approval could postpone by months the drawdown of US-led Nato troops, presenting President Clinton with a foreign policy fiasco weeks before the US presidential elections in November.*

The OSCE, which is supervising the election and the count, has been under constant US pressure to play down evidence of fraud.

The head of the OSCE mission in Sarajevo is Robert Frowick, a US diplomat. Over the past month, the press department in the Bosnian capital has been gradually packed with US officials, while their European counterparts have been sent home or demoted, in effect making the OSCE press office an extension of the American embassy.

Election observers believe the most likely source of fraud was large-scale ballot-stuffing. Unlike earlier internationally supervised elections in Namibia and Cambodia, there was only one international supervising team in Bosnia for every eight polling stations. "When the polls closed, about 70 per cent of the polling stations were totally unsupervised, and under control of the IECs [local election commissions]."

There are serious discrepancies across the country but the worst fraud appears to have been in

mainly Muslim areas. An OSCE source said that in central Sarajevo, 30,000 votes appear to have been cast on behalf of dead or missing Muslims. The number of voters is also suspiciously high around the Muslim town of Bihać.

The head of the International Crisis Group office in Sarajevo, Sir Terence Clark, said on Monday: "We call on the OSCE to explain the discrepancies and if it can only be explained by fraud, then they should declare the elections null and void."

The OSCE argued there was no direct proof of fraud. Jeff Fischer, the organisation's elections director, said the turnout appeared high because the original estimate for the total electorate — 2.9 million — had been too low. The OSCE has revised the figure upwards to 3.2 million.

The revised OSCE electorate figure defies demographic logic. It makes allowance for new voters coming of age since the 1991 election, but radically revises downwards the war's death toll. It suggests there are 200,000 more voters now than in 1991. "It's as if nobody died at all throughout the entire war," a UN analyst said.

At least 580,000 refugees are known not to have voted. Based on the polling day observations of international monitors, the document assumes an 80 per cent turnout of Bosnians still in Bosnia, but concedes this "is probably higher than the real turnout". If 80 per cent of Bosnia's voters had cast their ballots, the maximum number of voters would have been 1.89 million — 600,000 less than the actual number of ballots cast, which was officially reported as 2.52 million.

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Austria	AS30	Malta	45c
Belgium	BF75	Netherlands	G 4.75
Denmark	DK16	Norway	NK 16
Finland	FM 10	Portugal	E300
France	FF 13	Saudi Arabia	SR 6.50
Germany	DM 4	Spain	P 300
Greece	DR 400	Sweden	SK 19
Italy	L 3,000	Switzerland	SF 3.30

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The Guardian



















Reality Bites

Marie Arana-Ward THE LAST THING HE WANTED By Joan Didion

ONLY lately have real things begun to happen, Joan Didion declares in the opening line of The Last Thing He Wanted...

"It is hard now to call up the particular luridly of 1984," writes Didion, weaving herself into the story as narrator...

Into that murky, unrecorded world, quite by accident, steps Elena McMahon, 40-ish, a refugee from a jewel-studded marriage to a California oil tycoon...

Blind in the Eye of the Nicaraguan Storm

Joanne Omang DREAMS OF THE HEART: The Autobiography of Violeta Barrios de Chamorro...

OF all the things one could call Violeta Barrios de Chamorro, the one she would like the best is the one that would make her adversaries gag the most: founding mother...

However, the book is no feminist manifesto or insider revelation about Nicaragua's modern revolution...

puzzling voice-mail messages from her aging father in Florida. The first is a brief "Hey" — his signal, as always, to call him back...

What Elena knows about her father is minimal: that he has been losing his grip on reality for some time now and that he is a small-time hustler in a thousand fleeting enterprises...

What Elena doesn't know about her father is this: He has been running guns and ammo to a network of underfunded Central American wars...

When she gets to his Miami apartment, he seems more frail than ever before, more forgetful. He needs hospitalization. Suffice it to say that daughter does father a very big favor...

maximum impact on Nicaraguan elections next spring. Too bad, Violeta Barrios de Chamorro has been in a unique position to watch everything...

Violeta presents herself as "custodian of Pedro's dream," a mere agent of destiny. "My metamorphosis," she writes on page one...

As a member of the first governing junta, Violeta signed what was put in front of her. Her reports on the anti-Sandinista groups tell us only that they squabbled. Her years at La Prensa appeared to detach her further, and when, still passive, she agreed to run for president as a



"I see her standing in the wet grass off the runway, her arms bare, her sunglasses pushed up into her loose hair, her black shirt wrinkled from the flight..."

Didion knits together north, south, history, politics and an irresistible story line: Woman sets out to understand her father and wanders into hell instead. The Last Thing He Wanted is rock-hard and highly burnished...

disinfectants finally called elections they never dreamed they could lose, she was elected president in 1990. What a story! However, Violeta apparently has neither the will nor the skill to give us an insightful, inside account...

The best part of the book details her early life with Pedro, when he was in and out of Somoza's jails. At one point he wrote her a letter from prison that is truly touching: "Tell our children that the fatherland is them and other children like them..."

READERS looking for disclosures about international communist backing for the Sandinistas or U.S. involvement with the Contras will be largely disappointed. Daniel Ortega, for example, is just an insecure bully in a black leather jacket...

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(1970) and Democracy (1984) are reportorial, scrupulously un sentimental tough-gal tales in which character development and transitional mortar-writing-workshop staples — take second seat to a punching-bag rat-a-tat of language and plot.

If Edith Wharton captured her day in richly detailed human portraits, Joan Didion reflects our time in the starkness of her fictional characters. They are like Picasso line drawings, cool mirrors of a very modern anomic.

unity symbol, she broke her leg and had to campaign sitting in the back of a truck. Throughout, wrenching ideological battles divided her family right down the middle. She tells us how she coped but not enough about how she felt...

Oncoming election clearly in mind, Violeta takes pains to distance herself from Washington. She admits that "one cannot say that, prior to U.S. involvement, there truly existed a contra force."

At the end, Violeta admits to "feelings of frustration" over being "undervalued." If she'd been more candid, this book might have remedied that. Maybe when she's out of office she'll tell the full delicious story.

Joanne Omang covered U.S. policy toward Central America for The Washington Post in the 1980s and now writes fiction.

Hardbacks

Non-fiction

Hiding My Candy: The Autobiography of the Lady Chablis, with Theodore Bouloukos (Pocket, \$22).

THE Lady Chablis, in case you haven't read John Berendt's Midnight in The Garden Of Good And Evil, is a drag queen withchutzpah. When not performing at gay clubs, she can be found staging such scenes as crashing debutante balls...

The Joy of Writing Sex, by Elizabeth Benedict (Stor Press, \$16.99).

ELIZABETH BENEDICT is herself a novelist who writes frankly and wittily about sex. The opening of her novel Slow Dancing has her heroine musing that "sleeping with men you didn't care about was an acquired taste..."

History Wars: The Enola Gay and Other Battles for the American Past, edited by Edward T. Linenthal and Tom Englehardt (Metropolitan/Henry Holt, \$36; pbk, \$13.95).

WHEN the Smithsonian Institution decided to exhibit the Enola Gay, the plane that carried the A-bomb that devastated Hiroshima on August 6, 1944, it had no idea of the firestorm that was about to unleash. Curators wanted the exhibit to pose questions about the use of nuclear weapons...

Tomorrow's War: The Threat of High-Technology Weapons, by David Shukman (Harcourt Brace, \$26)

ELECTROMAGNETIC weapons "noise bombs" that incapacitate enemy forces. Electronic eyes that distinguish between friends and enemies. They sound like the gizmos you see exploding on the cinema screen. But Shukman, the BBC's chief European correspondent, cautions that such high-tech weapons are not just found in a Hollywood props department...

Research key to good teaching

Graham Zellik, London's new vice-chancellor, argues that quality research must take precedence over teaching. John McGinnety (right) disagrees

IS TEACHING undervalued in universities and regarded as a second-rate activity by comparison with research? This was one of the questions mullered over recently by the Council of the Committee of Vice-Chancellors and Principals...

Although I believe teaching is taken very seriously and is probably done better today than in the past, I have to reject another argument. That is that teaching in universities should enjoy parity of esteem with research...

Academic staff in the University of London, for example, are primarily committed to the academic enterprise because of their interest and opportunities in research. That is their prime motivation. The highest quality in research is intrinsically more important than the highest quality in teaching.

All of which raises the important question of diversity in higher education. Lip service is frequently paid to this but not in a way that truly addresses the essential issues. There is much diversity across the institutions that make up the higher education system in both the university and college sectors.

system that do not ever seem to be acknowledged. It is not enough simply to have institutions of different size or subject mix catering for different kinds of students unless you also recognise that a degree from one institution does not have to be the same animal as one from another. Unless we can accept that there will be different kinds of degrees for the different kinds of people entering HE, we shall suppress diversity and imperil academic standards.

London University is certainly diverse, ranging from large multi-faculty colleges across all disciplines to large institutions that do not cover all subjects and much smaller, specialised colleges. The subject spread is equally diverse. Despite this, it is meaningful to have a degree from London and to be a professor of that university regardless of where within the institution that degree has been gained or that appointment held.

The university has recently undergone quite spectacular constitutional and organisational changes and now an institution of international distinction — the London Business School — has applied and been admitted as a full member. That says it all.

The colleges' function largely autonomously, with the power to award the university's degrees and appoint its professors and readers; they are directly funded by the Higher Education Funding Council. The university's combined strength is formidable and as a group we are determined to make our voice heard in higher education.

But it cannot be right that "the highest quality in research is intrinsically more important than the highest quality in teaching". The UK has a crying need to increase the numbers of people entering higher education for the first time and to develop systems within which lifelong learning can flourish.

Undergraduates at the University of East London include some who have disabilities or learning difficulties. They are as able to benefit from higher education as others, and as able to contribute to society subsequently as others, but they have special needs. To provide them, and all our undergraduate students, with a satisfying, high-quality learning experience is a real and important challenge.

Whole new subjects and curricula have been developed to meet new needs — cultural studies and communication studies, for example. It is fashionable to denigrate these new subjects, just as it was, years ago, to denigrate engineering as a subject worthy of university work. But these are important subjects, popular with students and providing employment possibilities that enhance UK activities.

Universities that take the role of transmission of knowledge seriously must recognise the staff who rise to meet this challenge. Signals are sent, subtly or bluntly, via promotion and recognition systems. If teaching and learning are important and advances difficult to achieve, as I believe they are, then recognition is due to those staff who do these things excellently. At East London, we are appointing readers in educational development as part of this process.

Of course, university work requires more than good teaching. Imparting understanding to students, the defining function of higher education, entails a deeper knowledge of the subjects by the teaching staff; a knowledge that understands the current limits of the subject and where these are advancing. Only through research can new subjects be validated as worthy of academic endeavour. Thus, though each university will have a different balance of priorities among the three roles, all must participate to a considerable extent in each role.

The voice of the University of London should be heard in higher education, but it might listen as well. To have a business school or equivalent within a university is not novel in the academic world; older universities, such as Harvard, and newer ones, such as Manchester, achieved this some time ago. There may be other things, possibly in curriculum design and educational development, to be learned.

Professor John A. McGinnety is vice-chancellor (academic affairs) of the University of East London

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